

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

DHA-02 TRSE-00 ACDA-07 EB-08 /088 W

-----141904Z 026906 /45

R 141615Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5051

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION BERLIN UNN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AEMBASSY WARSAW 4598

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 3345

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PARM CSCE SHUM UR US

SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS AND DETENTE: PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SOVIET VIEWS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. WEEKEND PRESS PICKED UP IN INTENSITY

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AND VOLUME ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE AFTER LULL OF SEVERAL DAYS. MOST SIGNIFICANTLY, PRAVDA AND OTHER PRESS MADE THEIR MOST DIRECT AND CRITICAL COMMENTS ON "NEW" AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION\* AND SUGGESTED THAT HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN CAN HAVE ADVERSE AFFECTS ON OTHER ASPECTS OF DETENTE. GUARDED REFERENCES TO SALT AND ARMS CONTROL ISSUES SUGGEST NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES WITHOUT DIRECTLY SPELLING

THEM OUT. MEANWHILE, PRIVATELY AND IN PUBLIC FORUM OF ZNANIYE SOCIETY WE HAVE BEEN PICKING UP DIRECT MENTION OF PRESIDENT AND SPECIFIC MENTION THAT SALT AND ARMS CONTROL COULD BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED. END SUMMARY.

2. PRESS COVERAGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. AFTER RELATIVELY LIGHT COVERAGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE LAST WEEK, WEEKEND PRESS RETURNED TO NORMAL VOLUME AND INTENSITY. NEW DEVELOPMENT WAS THAT PRESS REFERENCES TO NEW ADMINISTRATION ARE MORE CRITICAL, ALBEIT AVOIDING DIRECT SOVIET CRITICISM OF PRESIDENT. MOST NOTEWORTHY ITEMS ARE:

--VLADIMIR BOL'SHAKOV, WRITING IN PRAVDA'S AUTHORITATIVE INTERNATIONAL WEEK REVIEW, NOTES THAT "AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION" ON ONE HAND TALKS ABOUT MUTUAL TRUST IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, AND ON OTHER ENCOURAGES "ANTI-COMMUNIST, ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGNS," ON HR ISSUE. THE ILLOGIC OF THE ARGUMENT IS CLEAR, ACCORDING TO BOL'SHAKOV. SALT IS ONE THING, AND EFFORT TO INTERFERE IN "OUT INTERNAL AFFAIRS" IS ANOTHER, HE SAYS. "THE TWO DO NOT MIX." BOL'SHAKOV GOES ON TO CITE WEST EUROPEAN LEADERS (BRANDT AND KEKKONEN) TO SHOW THAT AMERICAN EFFORTS ARE NOT SUPPORTED IN EUROPE. HE ALSO CITES UNNAMED WEST LEADERS WHO HAVE SUPPOSEDLY CALLED WASHINGTON'S ATTENTION TO FACT THAT HR ISSUE COULD HAVE ADVERSE IMPACT ON COMING BELGRADE MEETINGS. ON THIS ISSUE, CONCLUDES AUTHOR, BALL IS IN COURT OF U.S. AND ITS ALLIES.

--GEORGIY ARBATOV IN IZVESTIYA MARCH 12 USES  
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BOOK REVIEW TO WARN THAT "NOISY CAMPAIGN" CAN SERIOUSLY HARM OVERALL POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE AND PLACE ADDITIONAL BLOCKS IN PATH OF RELAXATION OF TENSIONS AND ENDING OF COLD WAR AND ARMS RACE.

--PRAVDA AND KZ ON MARCH 13 CARRY LONG TASS REPLAY OF EAST EUROPEAN PRESS CRITICISM OF HR CAMPAIGN "WHICH USA AND OTHER CAPITALIST COUNTRIES ARE CONDUCTING." EASTERN EUROPEAN COMMENTS ARE MORE CRITICAL AND MORE DIRECT THAN SOVIETS HAVE BEEN THUS FAR (E.G., "WHITE HOUSE" IS CRITICIZED.) INTERESTINGLY, TASS INTRODUCTION AS CARRIED IN BOTH PAPERS CITES ONLY "WELL-KNOWN POSITION OF THE NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION" WITHOUT FURTHER CLARIFICATION. HOWEVER, TASS ENGLISH WIRE INTENDED FOR FOREIGN AUDIENCES CARRYING SAME STORY SUBSTITUTES: "THE NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION, INCLUDING U.S. PRESIDENT JAMES CARTER, DIRECTLY JOINS THIS CAMPAIGN."

--TASS CORRESPONDENT IN NEW YORK, G. SHISHKIN,

REPORTS IN KZ MARCH 12, ON OPPOSITION IN U.S. TO CAMPAIN WHICH ONLY SERVES "ULTRAS" AND "HAWKS". HE CLAIMS THAT THESE AMERICANS NOTE THAT "ANTI-SOVIET HISTERIA" COULD SERIOUSLY "POISON" ATMOSPHERE SURROUNDING SALT AND THAT SUCCESSFUL TALKS WITH USSR CANNOT BE CONDUCTED ALONG WITH UNFRIENDLY CAMPAIGN. HE GOES ON TO NOTE THAT BUSINESS LEADERS WISH STABLE AND STRONG TRADE AND ECONOMIC TIES, IMPLYING THAT THESE ARE THREATENED BY HR CAMPAIGN. (BOTH REFERENCE TO SALT AND TO TRADE ARE OMITTED FROM PRAVDA REPLAY OF SAME PIECE.)

3. PUBLIC ZNANIYE LECTURE: IN SOMEWHAT MORE OPEN TERMS, LECTURER (A.I. DEMIN) ON MARCH 13 TOOK A DOWN-BEAT LINE ON THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, ESPECIALLY ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND SALT.

--THE SPEAKER CHARGED THAT THE SOVIET "SOCIALIST" CONFIDENTIAL

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POLICY WAS OPPOSED BY THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, SOME "REACTIONARY FORCES," AND OPPONENTS OF DETENTE. THIS OPPOSITION HAD EARLIER MANIFESTED ITSELF IN THE "NOISY CAMPAIGN" REMINISCENT OF THE "COLD WAR," ABOUT THE SO-CALLED "SOVIET THREAT", AND THE NEW U.S. ADMINISTRATION, "HEADED BY PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER," CONTINUES THE ARMS RACE.

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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
AEMBASSY WARSAW 4599  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 3345

--TO THIS IS NOW ADDED THE CAMPAIGN ABOUT  
SO-CALLED "HUMAN RIGHTS" IN THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER  
"SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES. THIS CAMPAIGN IS SUPPORTED IN  
"HIGH GOVERNMENT CIRCLES," IN SUCH ACTS AS PRESIDENT  
CARTER'S LETTER TO SAKHAROV AND HIS RECEPTION OF BUKOVSKIY.  
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TO SUCH ACTS ARE ADDED STATEMENTS BY THE DEPARTMENT OF  
STATE AND BY SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.

--THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS "SLANDEROUS CAMPAIGN",  
ARE TO CHANGE THE INTERNAL AND FOREIGN BEHAVIOR OF THE  
"SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES.

--THE CAMPAIGN ALSO SEEKS TO POISON THE POLITICAL  
CLIMATE BEFORE THE BELGRADE CSCE MEETING, ESPECIALLY  
ON BASKET III, AND ULTIMATELY "TO FREEZE THE PROCESS OF  
DETENTE."

--THE SOVIETS SEEK TO COMBAT THIS CAMPAIGN  
WITH SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ON DISARMAMENT, AFTER THE  
INAGURATION OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, "HEADED BY JIMMY  
CARTER," BUT PRESIDENT CARTER'S LATEST PRESS CONFERENCE  
SHOWS THAT THERE HAS NOT ONLY BEEN NO IMPROVEMENT  
IN THE U.S. POSITION, BUT CARTER HAS ACTUALLY SOUGHT TO  
REVISE PREVIOUS UNDERSTANDINGS TO EXCLUDE CONSIDERATION  
OF CRUISE MISSILES.

4. PRIVATE REMARKS: THE ABOVE HARsher LINE CORRESPONDS  
WITH PRIVATE INDICATIONS WE HAVE BEEN GETTING IN PAST

DAYS WHICH INDICATES LINKAGE BETWEEN NEGATIVE REACTION ON HR ISSUE AND POSSIBLE, NEVER SPECIFIED, NEGATIVE IMPLICATIONS FOR SALT AND OTHER ASPECTS OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS. FOLLOWING ARE MOST SIGNIFICANT REMARKS:

--IUSAC DIRECTOR ARABTOV TOLD PAO AT MARCH 9 RECEPTION THAT IF HE WERE GIVING US NEWS & WORLD REPORT AND NEWSWEEK INTERVIEWS AGAIN HE WOULD TAKE HARDER LINE THAN HE DID WHEN HE GAVE THEM, ON GROUNDS THAT SOVIETS ARE BEING CHALLENGED EVERY DAY AND THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT IS GROWING. (THIS CHECKS WITH ARTICLE BY ARBATOV (PARA 2) WHICH IS STRONGER THAN EITHER INTERVIEW.)  
--ALSO AT SAME MARCH 9 RECEPTION BOTH OLEG  
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SOKOLOV (MFA, USA DIVISION) AND EDUARD IVANYAN (IUSAC EXEC SEC) IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS TOLD EMBOFF THAT BUKOVSKIY RECEPTION AT WHITE HOUSE BY PRESIDENT WAS PARTICULARLY BAD MOVE. SOKOLOV WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE THOUGHT THAT FOR SAKE OF CONTINUED U.S.-SOVIET COOPERATION AN END SHOULD BE PUT TO PUBLIC COMMENT ON HR AND EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO RETURN TO "QUIET DIPLOMACY".

5. COMMENT. THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT OF ABOVE COMMENTS IS TO GO FURTHER THAN EVER BEFORE IN LINKING PRESIDENT CARTER TO HR "CAMPAIGN." YET THERE IS STILL RELUCTANCE TO PERMIT DIRECT PRESS CRITICISM, AT LEAST FOR INTERNAL CONSUMPTION, OF THE NEW AMERICA PRESIDENT. BOL'SHAKOV'S CRITICISM OF "THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION" DOES, HOWEVER, REPRESENT ANOTHER RACHET-TURN IN DIRECTON OF A HARSHER, MORE DIRECTLY CRITICAL LINE. ADDITIONAL OF HINTS THAT HR ISSUE COULD ADVERSELY AFFECT SALT, OTHER ARMS CONTROL ISSUES AND SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN GENERAL IS ANOTHER INDICATION THAT SOVIETS ARE INTERESTED IN TURNING OFF HR ISSUE EVEN IF "LINKAGE" IS NEEDED TO TO IT. THE REFERENCES IN KZ THAT EVEN TRADE RELATIONS COULD SUFFER IS FIRST SUCH HINT, PUBLICLY, THAT WE HAVE SEEN ALTHOUGH A VEILED REFERENCE WAS MADE PRIVATELY RECENTLY BY A GOSPLAN OFFICIAL (MOSCOW 3242). OF INTEREST, OF COURSE, IS THAT THIS PARAGRAPH WAS LEFT OUT OF PRAVDA COVERAGE, AS WAS SUGGESTION THAT SALT AND HR "CAMPAIGN- WERE INCOMPATIBLE.

6. AS WE DRAW CLOSER TO VISIT OF SECRETARY VANCE TO MOSCOW, IT WOULD SEEM THAT SOVIETS ARE TRYING TO SUGGEST THAT WE TURN OFF OUR CAMPAIGN OVER HR AND SEEM WILLING TO THREATEN OBLIQUELY--BUT SOMETIMES NOT SO OBLIQUELY-- ACTION IN OTHER ASPECTS OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS TO GET THE ISSUE TURNED OFF AND GET, TO USE THE WORDS OF MFA'S SOKOLOV, "QUIET DIPLOMACY" TURNED ON.

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## Message Attributes

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